175 previous ten days, was accused of having poisoned him. He was made to swear on the Koran, but he swore that he had no hand in the death of Moussa and was set free.

A marabout from the zāwiyah /monastery --ed./ of Teleya, Sidi Mohamed ben Badi, a mḳaddam delegated by the great religious leader of the Kounta, Bey el Bekkay, was present at the death of [787] Moussa. He claimed to have been sent by Bey, to whom the death of Moussa ag Ẍmastan had been revealed in a dream.

This assertion did much to dissipate the doubt in people's minds, at the same time as it increased the reputation of the marabout from Teleya as a "saint."

A few days later, the djemaa met and named as a replacement [643 648] Akhamouk ag Yema, informing the authorities by the following letter:

30 December 1920

"Glory to the one God.

"On the part of your friend Boukhelil ben Douka to your Lordship the honorable Captain Depommier, head of the dependency of In-Salah and the Ahaggar. May salvation be yours.

"I have the honor to inform you that our father, Moussa ag Ẍmâstan, is dead, may God bless him.

"We, the Kébar Tuareg nobles, have met with the Kébar of the Imrad. Without any exception, we have accepted Ẍkhammouk ag Yéma to replace Moussa. Be well assured that while Moussa was alive, we entrusted to him all the affairs with which he was charged in dealing with the French military authority.

[648] "I would have you know that today we shall make all possible efforts to serve the French government in good faith as before, and even better, and we shall do in good part all that we can do."

Ẍkhamouk ag Yema was the first cousin of Moussa ag Ẍmâstan, the eldest son of the latter's maternal aunt. Through his mother he descended from the Inemba. He was a childhood companion of /190/ Moussa, undergoing his cousin's influence and following him

Some Tuareg scrupulously practice fasting, and the different Moslem holidays are now followed punctually. But along with that they keep the ahal, monogamy, and matriarchy.

Pagan survivals. -- Ten centuries of Islamism have not completely rid the Tuareg of their former beliefs. They still believe in the existence of an animated world peopled by elements acting visibly or invisibly, living in minerals, vegetables, water, etc. To be sure, these beliefs are growing blurred, dwindling and losing their intensity, but the Tuareg still live with them, even going so far as to practice certain rites, just as in the country in France.

Their belief in supernatural matter is more than we could possibly imagine. They believe in genii (ahinnen or imdounen) who inhabit the mountains, springs, steep places, and some trees. They protect themselves from them by numerous talismans, which they beg from the marabouts, or by the practice of exorcizing. The women are even more credulous than the men on this point. They consult the dead by going to pray on their tombs and ask them news of those who are absent.

Petrographic cults are still very much alive among the Tuareg. They believe that some stones are haunted, and to gain the good will of the spirits they place votive offerings in the form of pebbles nearby. Therefore, at the crossing of some mountain passes and some unavoidable paths one often finds enormous piles of stones imitating tumuli, or else many little piles placed on both sides of some camel trails. Some ancient tombs are the object of a quite peculiar worship, for example the one discovered at Tazerouk a few /308/ years ago by Captain Niéger. This tomb, on which lay several stone statuettes, polished axes, and numerous Neolithic objects, was still visited in recent years until the time when it was excavated by the French. The Tuareg deny this, of course, but the discovery of objects placed there recently (fragments of cloth, beads, etc.) proves it. The stone statues represented the Tibaradines, that is, "the maidens." They were supposedly a highborn woman and her servant who were turned into stone because the mistress

had asked God to escape a raid which was coming to pillage her camp. After the raid had passed, however, God kept the women in the state of stone in spite of their entreaties, and it was so that life might be returned to them that the Tuareg came to leave different objects every time they passed near the tomb. The worship of the Tibaradines is certainly a trace of pre-Islamic and perhaps Neolithic beliefs which must have been deformed through the centuries. One of the statuettes represents a cow and is clearly related to the one found at Silet.

The remains of totemism are still affirmed by food taboos. The nobles refuse to eat fish or bird flesh, as well as birds' eggs; only the ostrich escapes this interdiction. On the other hand, a legend even reports that the uran, or great sand lizard, is the maternal uncle of all the Tuareg.

Some trees are also the object of worship. The Maerua crassifolia which the Tuareg call agar is supposed to be inhabited by a genie which they chase away by striking the tree with stones every time they want to get in its shade. As we have already pointed out, repudiated women who do not wish to stay in the prescribed retirement as imposed by custom and want to take up the state of free living, rely on the tree to take over this retirement which bothers them so much.

Sorcery. -- Divination. -- Besides these more or less religious beliefs the Tuareg practice sorcery, divination, and the interpretation of dreams.

Some men, often blacksmiths, are known as sorcerors and make potions intended to cast spells; these are generally made of animal skins /309/ and are given to people who wish to cast a spell on someone, with the intention of taking him by surprise. The uran lizard plays a large part in the making of these sorceries.

Divination, practiced especially by women, is done in several ways and always aims to ask news of absent ones.

We have already mentioned divination through tombs. There is also what the Tuareg call tachilet (the viper). It is done either

1: Lhote--172 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

●787 with a mirror or else with a lizard, which are questioned following different forms and which must answer the questions asked.

Dreams are interpreted in different ways. If a man dreams of black, it is a bad sign; of white, he will receive money; of dates, some one around him or he himself will be wounded; of a viper, some one will cast an evil spell on him, etc. (1)

1. Cf. Vermale, op. cit., pp. 185 and 186.

We shall add that the Tuareg also believe in omens and interpret the unexpected presence of animals, crows, gazelles, and sparrows. Certain days or certain months, certain even or uneven numbers, are considered good or bad omens.

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Book VII

Relations With the Outside World

Chapter 1

Trade, Caravans, Caravan Trails, and Transport

888 As far back as one goes into the past, one notices that the Sahara has always played the role of bridge between North Africa and Africa below the equator, and that there has never been a watertight bulkhead erected between the two regions.

The North Africans have always given their attention to the wealth of the Sudan. We have several proofs of this, among others the periplus of the Carthagenian Hanno, who was instructed to explore the African coast west of the Pillars of Hercules, and the voyage of the three young Nasamononians who tried to cross the desert in the time of Herodotus.

There are also lucky or unlucky days. The lucky days, 777
those which are recommended for starting on a journey, are [484]
Friday after prayer, Saturday morning, and Monday. /63/
For the lucky day of the month one first counts 2 from the
index finger and, coming back to the index finger, 7, 12,
17, 22, 27.

The unlucky days are Sunday and Wednesday.

The Tuareg also believe in the evil eye, "tahott." 754

An eclipse is the sun's raid on the moon, and vice versa. 821

Finally, there is a very curious custom of which Duveyrier 769
has spoken, which is that of consulting old graves. Usually 787
it is the women who go to consult them. They dress well
and must avoid having on themselves anything of iron or steel,
even a needle. They lie down near the grave, and the
"zabbar" (ogre) inhabiting the grave appears to them in the
form of a giant with eyes as large as a camel's, and gives
them the answers they want. They are consulted especially
in order to get news of absent ones, people gone on a raid
or in a caravan, from whom there has been no news.

Chapter IX

Stock Raising. Flocks

Camels, sheep, and goats constitute the chief resource 233
of the Tuareg, as of all nomads. Camels especially are the
object of all their care, since these give them the greatest
service. They rely greatly on camels, ewes, and goats be- [234]
cause of the milk, of which they drink a great deal, and melted
butter, "oudi," which they make.

They use all the hides: those of camels for sandals, 237
containers for butter, watering troughs, etc.; those of sheep 281
or goats for waterskins and the manufacture of tents, leather
clothes, etc. /64/

and the Abalessa wadi. Now, this grave has the shape of an enormous circular wall and is surrounded by other graves of the "chouchat" shape which are those of Tin Hinane's servants. Beside her grave is that of Takamat, the woman whom the Kel Ahnet claim as their ancestress. All these graves resemble those of the "izabbaren" so closely as to be confusing. Why do the Tuareg disclaim these while they acknowledge those of Tin Hinane, Takamat, and their servants? 172 173 764

We saw in the chapter "Superstitions, Beliefs" that the Tuareg go to consult the Izzabaren graves to obtain news of those absent. 769 787

In the Tafidjiq wadi (about four hours' walk from Ideles) there is a grave which is the object of great veneration on the

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Harratine Huts at Ideles
(Koudia)

part of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is that of Adjadj Alemine (probably the missionary who converted them to Islamism; see the chapter on the origin of the Tuareg /not translated/). The Ahaggar say that this Adjadj Alemine was a marabout, a saint, and they call on him in their prayers when they are in trouble or grief, as the Arabs, under the same circumstances, call on Sidi Abdelkader el Djillali. I have not seen his grave, but I was told that it has "chouahed" like all Moslem graves. [797. 174]

Upright stones. Following the directions of the guide Deguemma ag Chikat of the Adjouh-n-Taheli, I found, in the Koudia of the Ahaggar, a place where there was a collection of some ten upright stones of which only one remained /79/ 172

773/116 cont./ and this imitation of his gestures disturbed Titi, who guessed that this woman with the abundant hair was a Kel es Souf. He prepared his millet flat cake, and the woman repeated each of his movements. At that point Titi, seizing a firebrand, quickly ran the nonburning end through his hair; the woman imitated him but used the wrong end; her hair caught fire, she fled screaming, rolled on the ground, and rubbed against the trees, which caught fire. And ever since this adventure of long ago, one can see the remains of the tabrakat burned by the Kel es Souf in the Ouriren wadi.

Another Targui, when night was falling, spied the fire of a camp in a ravine toward which he directed himself. Hardly had he descended from his camel, when he was invited to eat. As he was very hungry, he shortened the customary salutations. Having sat down on a magnificent rug, he observed that the people were dressed as Tuareg, to be sure, but he could not determine their caste nor find any resemblance to anyone he knew. All of this seemed strange to him, but the strangest was to see the asink served in a golden terahout. He understood at once that this was a camp of the Kel es Souf. He seized the dish, bounded to his camel, which fortunately had not been unsaddled, and fled into the night. When he felt he had gone far enough, he wanted to look at the fabulous dish. Alas! It had disappeared, which proved to him that he had been the victim of the Kel es Souf.

•787 Instances of clairvoyance are common with the Tuareg; this is chiefly the province of the women. It is related that during the raids of yesteryear certain Tuareg women knew /117/ the outcome of a combat which took place more than 400 kilometers away; a wife would see her husband wounded, a sister learned of the death of her brother, and the news would be verified upon the return of the warriors. This distant clairvoyance is still practiced today. Here are the two ways of going about it. At nightfall the woman endowed with this power washes herself meticulously and puts on her finest clothes.

787 /117 cont./ She goes to a "debni," a pre-Islamic tomb, lies down on the stones, and says the following words: "Imeguedda enkerguedda," the meaning of which is not known. Putting her ear to the stones, she may hear the news, certainly transmitted by the Kel es Souf. The debni speaks briefly, three times only, and it is not permitted to ask it questions.

The other process requires the sacrifice of a goat. The grass in its stomach is taken out and is made into one or several balls. When night falls the woman goes to a flat place away from all human presence; she throws the balls as far as possible, then lies on the ground and puts her ear against it. If the Kel es Souf are favorably disposed, the news arrives as briefly, but as precisely, as in the preceding method. This process is called "tizomitin." Methods exist to question Fate. They are called "idjehan" and consist of making dots on the sand whose exact number one does not know. The technique differs according to the manner of making the dots. It is something like the card game of patience, for the responses are either "yes" or "no." Some Tuareg know another method to obtain more varied answers, but the apprenticeship for this is long.

241 There are other superstitions, such as that which calls for putting old cooking pots, or else the jaw of an ass, on view in a wheat field in order to have a good harvest. Let us also [262] mention the Negresses' custom of eating cat's thighs in the month of March in order to gain weight.

All of these beliefs should be collected, but that would require long, patient work, which could not be carried out except in a climate of confidence.

771 /118/ One may say that the Ahaggar still lives in a world of magic despite the presence of Islam. This fear of spirits, which seems childish to an Occidental, is very real. "Imagination," Fraser says, "knows how to act on man with as much effect as does gravity, and may kill him with the same certitude as would a dose of prussic acid." The

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525

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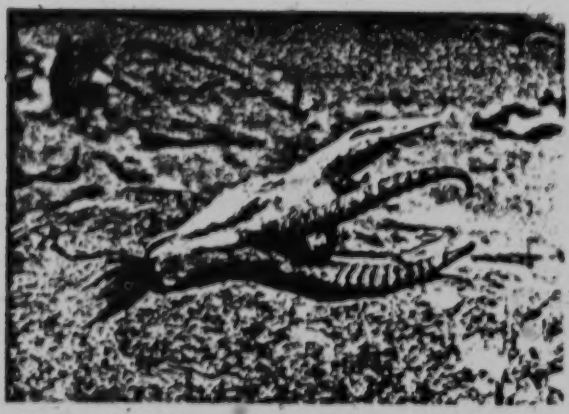

Fig. 122. Gazelle's head with the black tail-tuft inserted into one of the nostrils as a remedy against the mystic evil power called *ettama* (*tezma*). Tasili-n-Ajjer.

This custom is believed to afford protection against the mystical power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama*, or *tezma* – an evil power possessed by certain Tuareg and by all blacksmiths (cf. p. 21). A person who possesses this evil power may, if he does not receive part of the booty, spoil the hunter's luck when seeing the killed gazelle. The tail-tuft put into the animal's nostril eliminates this risk.

(2) When a hunter returns to his camp with booty he should not show the killed game to other people, and if asked about the results of his hunting trip he should deny that he has had any luck. This custom is also explained as being a protection against the evil power *ettama* (*tezma*) just mentioned.

(3) When a man leaves his camp for a hunting trip he must not talk about it, nor must it be mentioned by other people. This belief has its root in the conception of the "evil mouth" (the "evil eye") known in Ayr as *tagarchet*, in Ahaggar as *tehoj*.

(4) If a hunter has given meat from his killed game to another man, the latter should not praise it. This belief is due to the belief in the "evil mouth" – the belief that a man's luck can be spoiled by praise.

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777 (5) In a *Dag Rall* camp I have noticed that a piece of bone of a barbary sheep was conserved in a skin bag. I was told that this was done in order that the hunter might have good luck in his future hunting of barbary sheep.

[125] (6) Certain omens bring good luck in hunting as well as in other projects, e.g., to walk between two black ravens (Ayr), or to see two black ravens (Ahaggar); to see a jackal; to see the hawk called *ekellew*; to see three gazelles.

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777 (7) The Tuareg have various methods of divination some of which are frequently used in connection with hunting. The hunter will frequently enquire into the result of a planned hunting trip by means of a method known in Ahaggar as *tjekus*, in Ayr as *igazan*. In brief the method is practised as follows:— The diviner presses his thumb or his forefinger quickly into the sand to make two rows of holes close to each other. He does not know ahead how many holes he has made in the two rows. He counts

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

the number of holes in each row and makes a special sign in the sand for even and uneven numbers. There are four possibilities of different signs:— (1) A sign called *tezli* if there is an uneven number of holes in both rows; (2) A sign known as *ihilli* if there is an even number of holes in both rows; (3) A sign, *eggar*, if the number of holes is uneven in the right row, but even in the left row; (4) A sign, *tamayit*, if the number of holes is even in the right row, but uneven in the left. The diviner makes two rows of holes six times successively. Each time he makes one of the mentioned signs according to the distribution of holes, and the result of his divination depends upon the character of the signs and their relative position to each other (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 151 f.). – The Tuareg have other methods of divination which are perhaps also used to predict the result of planned hunting trips. They also know to take omens from the shoulder-blades of wild and domestic animals. When a hunter has killed a gazelle he will often keep the shoulder-blades for himself, and having eaten the meat he will take omens of future happenings from the structure of these bones. Such shoulder-blades will not be thrown to the dogs – they are hidden under rocks and stones (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 150 f.).

Some of the above mentioned usages and beliefs have been mentioned also by Lhote (Lhote 1951a, p. 180 f.), who has noted a few other customs connected with hunting:—

(8) If a hunter kills a snake he will get nothing. (A particular snake species known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *émegel* is never killed, as it is considered "sacred" and is referred to as a "marabut").

(9) If two men hunt together, but separate to meet later, the man who comes upon the other must not receive food from him.

(10) Handling the skin of game animals one must not put fingers into a bullet hole. This would cause bad shooting or accidents on future hunting trips, and the rule is observed even with tanned skin.

A few other superstitious usages have been recorded from Ahaggar by Captain Florimond (Rapport Annuel. Ouargla 1940). They are here quoted from Lhote 1951a, p. 181 f.:—

(11) Hunters of the *Dag Rali* take omens from the breaking of sandal straps in the pursuit of barbary sheep. If the straps passing between the toes break the hunter will kill a mule, while he will get a female animal if the side-straps break.

(12) When Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* (*Dag Rali*) leave for a hunting trip they put a stone or pebble on their heads and utter an invocation to hunting spirits which is rapidly repeated ten times.

(13) When *Dag Rali* Tuareg set out hunting they take with them a stone from a pre-Islamic tomb. When game is seen they throw this stone far away crying at their dogs: "Go! What you kill shall be *hallal* and lawful!"

(14) When a barbary sheep has been killed by people hunting with dogs, the head of the animal is cut off and thrown on the fire while the following words are uttered:— "The smell from the burned skin of the head of the barbary sheep shall forever flatter the hunter's nostrils so that he may have good luck in future hunting also!" Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* will add:— "I have taken you from the *Kel Asuf* and I have taken only the blessing they have sold you that you may soon be followed by your peer!"

(15) At the partition of killed game the meat must be handled with slow motions. If not, the dogs will lose their fierceness.

(16) It is believed that a hunter should fix a burning piece of wood in the soil by the fire in which